DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 296 053 UD 026 256

AUTHOR Harvey, Jim
TITLE Prejudice and the Reduction of Prejudice in Australian Society.
PUB DATE 9 Apr 88
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New Orleans, LA, April 5-9, 1988).
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Cultural Pluralism; Economic Factors; Educational Policy; Educational Strategies; *Ethnic Bias; *Foreign Countries; *Immigrants; *News Media; Political Issues; Population Trends; Public Policy; *Racial Bias; *Racial Discrimination; Sex Discrimination
IDENTIFIERS Aboriginal People; *Australia

ABSTRACT

White Australian history has displayed rampant racism, sexism, and cultural chauvinism. Since 1947 Australia has undergone a demographic revolution in both size and ethnic composition. The four million migrants, 56 percent of whom are of non-British origin, and their 2 million children, account for nearly 60 percent of Australia's post-war population growth. Although the federal and state governments have been enacting equal opportunity and affirmative action legislation, and there have been improvements in community attitudes toward migrants, racism and cultural chauvinism persist in many forms and in many aspects of Australian society. Aboriginal Australians are the minority group most subject to prejudice and discrimination. The following aspects of the nature and construction of prejudice are discussed: (1) racialism; (2) cultural superiority; and (3) political and economic dimensions. Australian society must combat prejudice by generating a range of coherent policies to work through institutions such as the law, the polity, the economy, and education. Educational strategies aimed at the reduction of prejudice are discussed and presented on a table. Newspaper headlines supplement the text. A list of 17 references is included. (BJV)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED296053

PREJUDICE AND THE REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

JIM HARVEY

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COLLEGE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION

A paper to be presented at a symposium titled: ***Curriculum Policies and Prejudice Reduction: Critical Evaluation of Prevailing Theory*** to be held at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 1988.

UD026556

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

A. J. Harvey
S. Australian College of Advanced Educ

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

What makes you so superior?

WHITE AUSTRALIA HAS A BLACK HISTORY

The big fear from migrants

Race and Australia

An unashamed and rousing 'Yes' to multiculturalism

Stone urges ban on migrants without English

Business prejudice 'harming' Asian trade

We have survived!

Asian migrants increase by a third

MULTICULTURALISM AND THE ECONOMY

Letters

The race debate (continued)

Enormous problems

A mish-mash of racial groups

Indochinese migrants defended

The big multicultural debate

INTRODUCTION

In its original form, this paper consisted of an analysis of current Australian state and federal education policies in the areas of Multicultural Education, Aboriginal Studies and the Education of Girls. The analysis specifically focussed on the appropriateness (or otherwise) of the notion of prejudice reduction to these diverse policies.

Events, however, have overtaken me.

As I write. Australian Society is being confronted by the mounting spectre of racism, restrictive immigration policies and prejudice as front page news. A Royal Commission is currently examining the excessively high number of Aboriginal deaths in police custody. A highly-placed Aboriginal bureaucrat has publicly challenged the previously bipartisan approach to Australian immigration policy in general, and the level of Asian immigration to Australia in particular. Australia's sad history of race relations has been placed squarely on the agenda at the start of the celebration of two hundred years of white occupation/invasion/settlement on the coast of one of our six states. Australia is being forced to acknowledge that white Australia has a black history.

As a consequence of these events this paper will analyse the nature and constructions of prejudice; illustrating the public debate with some reference to newspaper clippings. Finally, it will focus on the implications for education policy and practice of attempts to combat prejudice in Australia.

WHITE AUSTRALIA HAS A BLACK HISTORY

THE CONTEXT

1988 marks the Bicentenary of the occupation of Australia by white settlers. This provides all Australians with an opportunity to review the past, reflect on the present and to plan for the future. In particular, it provides an ideal opportunity to acknowledge and redress the oppression and discrimination which have characterized white settlement.

White Australian history has displayed rampant racism, sexism and cultural chauvinism. Together with the well-documented decimation of the Aboriginal population and destruction of its culture, Australian society has, through its immigration policies and practices (including the infamous White-Australia Policy) actively discriminated against Chinese and other non-white settlers. Similarly, sexism and cultural chauvinism in their various forms have played an important role in the formation of contemporary Australian culture.

Mass migration has had a profound impact on Australian social life. Since 1947, (the commencement of the post World War II boom in immigration) Australia has undergone a demographic revolution in both size and ethnic composition. Nearly four million migrants have entered Australia, and they have produced two million children. Fifty-six per cent of these migrants are of non-British origin. This immigration has accounted for nearly sixty per cent of Australia's post-war population growth. The multicultural, multilingual (as opposed to "multi-racial') nature of Australian society is acknowledged in many areas of government policy. Australian immigration policies are now non-discriminatory on the basis of ethnicity. Cultural diversity is an acknowledged, if not

totally accepted, aspect of urban Australia. Rights of non-English speaking Australians to cultural and linguistic maintenance underpin many aspects of social and education policy.

Similarly, many advances have been made to redress previous discriminatory treatment of women. Federal and state governments have enacted Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action legislation in many spheres of political, economic and social life. Again despite these changes, residual manifestations of sexism still find expression and continued currency in Australian society.

However, despite these significant provisions in policy direction and general community attitudes towards the migrant presence, racism and cultural chauvinism persist in many forms and in many aspects of Australian society.

PREJUDICE IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY

Prejudice, discrimination and oppression take a variety of forms including sexism, cultural chauvinism, racism and ethnic or racial prejudice. However, classification of ideologies by their superficial content obscures the fundamental continuities of function which, generally, are the maintenance of gender, cultural, racial and ultimately economic superiority. It is essential to deconstruct these ideologies through an analysis of their form and functions as this generates particular kinds of explanations about what causes these forms and how they can be combated.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to engage in a detailed analysis of each as these ideologies. Further, an adequate theoretical integration of race, class and gender is yet to be formulated (see Troyna and Williams, 1986; Grant and Sleeter, 1986). However, it is possible to begin to unravel the complex relationships which exist between them through an examination of the loci of explanations of prejudice and the various ways in which prejudice is constructed in Australian society.

EXPLANATIONS OF PREJUDICE

The complexity of the notion of prejudice is no better exemplified than in the variations in the location of explanations of the phenomenon (a).

Some recent writers have taken an iconoclastic view of the origins and location of prejudice. Barker (1981) asserts the socio-biological view that prejudice in the form of xenophobia is a natural human trait employed to exclude the threatening presence of outsiders by most societies. The origins of this form of prejudice are quasi genetic and as a consequence this limits any potential for change or amelioration.

More commonly, prejudice has been portrayed as an issue of interpersonal relations between individuals which expresses itself as aberrant or dissonant attitudes (Allport, 1954; Milner, 1985; Lippmann, 1985). The underlying principle is that prejudice is derived from misunderstandings between individuals. Such explanations locate both the origins of the prejudice and the site for intervention in the

individual. Similarly other writers (Bagley & Verma, 1979; Banks, 1981; Lynch, 1987) have focussed on prejudice as a product of inter-racial or inter-ethnic interactions. So depicted, prejudice has its origins and possibilities for resolution located in the notions of "culture" and "cultural difference". Prejudice is a matter of ascribed characteristics derived from stereotypical representations of an ethnic group's culture transposed into inappropriate inter-cultural or inter-ethnic attitudes.

Both these theories are limited in their explanatory power because of their reduction of the substantive economic and political processes of racism to an issue of cultural or interpersonal relationships. Culture is not a static entity. Transformations in cultural forms are occurring continuously within the dominant and ethnic cultures. Solely cultural explanations of the origins of prejudice are limited by their failure to consider either the social context in which the prejudice is being formed or the processes by which differential meanings are made of cultural elements. More significantly, racism transcends individual and cultural interactions between individuals. As Troyna and Williams have argued:

> Racism, in other words, is not just a form of cultural ignorance or misunderstanding as we are often led to believe.
>
> ... racism has come to be part of the way many elements of white-working class communities perceive their identities and economic positions
>
> (1986:115)

Individuals live their lives at the intersection of frequently -competing class, gender and ethnic (or racial) processes. Explanations

of prejudice need to focus on the relationships between constructions of prejudice and the maintenance of power by the dominant culture, rather than on individual attitudes or ethnic minority cultures. It is to a presentation of such societal configurations of prejudice in Australia that I now turn.

PREJUDICE AS RACIALISM

Racialism (the behaviour and attitudes which appear to be based on the belief that one ethnic [or "racial"] group is superior to another) has a distinct social history which is intimately connected with colonialism in Australia. It has been constructed from beliefs of biological and cultural superiority held by the early colonial settlers and has been used to subjugate all non-Europeans in Australia. In the case of Aborigines (or, as they prefer to be called Koories, Murris or Nyungas - depending on which part of the continent they live) this oppression has been almost to the point of genocide.

Racialism, however, is not simply a matter of individual or even group prejudice, but is built into the very structure and institutions of society so that the subordination of minority groups is maintained. For instance, a charitable interpretation of the relationship between the Australian legal system (itself largely derivative of the British system) and the indigenous Aboriginal people, is a tale of indifference and neglect. A less charitable interpretation is that it represents a cruel assertion of power: sometimes deliberate, sometimes mindless - resulting

in the destruction of Aboriginal culture (including a total rejection of Aboriginal customary law), unparalleled rates of criminal conviction and imprisonment, and massive deprivation of property and land. And all supported by an unquestioning belief in the absolute superiority of "White Fella's" culture.

Prejudice as racialism has been used to the economic and cultural advantage of the occupying group. To redress the effects of such powerful processes which have operated for two hundred years would require massive structural changes in all Australian institutions ranging from such basic issues as land ownership and land titles to areas of legal, health and social welfare policy, to such complex areas as the political and constitutional acknowledgement of the initial and continuing occupation of Aboriginal Australia by European, and more recently South-East Asian immigrants.

PREJUDICE AS CULTURAL SUPERIORITY

Paradoxically, prejudice also manifests itself as a belief of cultural superiority frequently justified by the perceived existence of a primordial cultural identity. For example, in Australia it is currently highly valued to be a descendant of settlers who came (or convicts who were sent) here in 1788 with the First Fleet. Such a genealogy is believed to immediately impart a superior historical and cultural primo genetor on the individual. Similarly, powerful distinctions were made during the early years of Post World War II immigration between "new"

Australians and "old" Australians. Central to this distinction was the ideology of assimilation, with its explicit expectation that on arrival immigrants were to make all of the necessary cultural adaptations. An aspect of this construction of prejudice was voiced recently by a senior member of Federal parliament who proposed that non English-speaking migrants should be refused entry to Australia.

Stone urges ban on migrants without English

Language is a powerful component in the processes of prejudice (Clyne, 1987). Prejudice in its various forms not only finds expression through popular forms of discourse, but also is maintained when the dominant group invokes "the symbolism of war, threat, struggle, patriotism and heritage" to assert their superior contribution to Australia's history and their consequent cultural superiority (Simkin and Nicholson, 1987).

This belief in a prior and superior identity has been challenged by members of some of the more-recently arrived ethnic groups who, as a consequence of the policies of multiculturalism and the rise of ethnicity, have been encouraged to retain their ethnic identity, be it Greek-Australian, Italo-Australian or Anglo-Australian. This has confronted the previous taken-for-grantedness of the existence of an identifiable "Australian" identity.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF PREJUDICE

The potency of prejudice in its various political and economic manifestations has become most apparent in much of the current public discourse in Australia. Unlike the United Kingdom and the United States, Australia has never experienced the largely urban phenomenon of the "race riot". Because of the physical remoteness of many Aborigines, most "racial" incidents occur in rural towns rather than in inner urban areas as is the case in the U.K. and U.S.A. Consequently, the underlying fear of public unrest which underpins much of the politics of race relations in those two countries does not exist as a major political concern in

Australia because of the physical distancing of both the experience and reality of racism. Racial incidents, it is believed, happen in the outback.

The massive changes in the size and ethnic composition of Australian society since World War II have been largely an urban experience. However, despite increased competition for housing and jobs between immigrants and the indigenous working class, the migrant presence has never been viewed as a major threat to public order. In fact, the political potency of the rise of ethnicity went almost totally unacknowledged until the significance of the "ethnic vote" was recognized and used to political advantage by one of the major political parties in the Federal election of 1972 - and this in a country where voting at elections is compulsory for all citizens and many non-citizens.

Political dimensions of prejudice find expression through attempts to change immigration policies including expressions of concern regarding the perceived "Asianisation" of Australia, and the appeal by political parties, particularly in rural electorates, to fears of the effects of "Aborignal" Land Rights, and other moves to overcome previous discriminatory practices towards Aboriginal people. Prejudice infrequently manifests itself openly in the political processes. Both major political parties are highly sensitive to the potential divisiveness of debates on racism in particular. Both parties have agreed to a bipartisan approach to immigration policy - to challenge this is to give rise to the possibility of a major expression of the prejudice which underpins much of the Australian society.

Perkins Tweaks A Racial Nerve

The bipartisan line on immigration holds despite a rekindled debate on Asian entry

The lesson of the political processes of reform in Australian society is that the very history of Australia with its absence of revolution, civil war or hostile invasion is the lesson of gradualism. Despite this, Australia was one of the first countries to grant women the vote. The failure to honour political promises of effective land rights, sacred site protection and mining royalties for Aborigines and the proposals to make massive cutbacks in the provision and funding of education and public broadcasting services to non-English speaking immigrants, make it obvious that the politics of prejudice continue.

These shifts in government priorities away from projects supporting ethnic community interests and aspirations coincide with a period of economic recession during which there has been a rise in public profile of right-wing organisations and a shift to the political right by the current Labor Party government. The political fortunes of multiculturalism depend almost entirely on powerful economic exigencies.

In an earlier section of this paper I discussed the economic advantages obtained by white Australians through the processes of racialism. Recently, the economic costs of prejudice in its various forms have become of growing concern to many policy makers. The rapid decline in Australia's economic prosperity has challenged prevailing attitudes to cultural differences. Concern has been expressed that one factor in this decline in Australia's economic competitiveness has been the predominance of Anglo-European culture, which has precluded Australia from full access to and participation in world markets. It is argued that the traditional emphasis upon monoculturalism (what Smolicz referred to as "Anglo-Conformism") has mitigated against the development of an awareness of the economic significance of other cultures, and has been linked to an inability to learn from others. Just as the U.S. has turned to Japan, West Germany and some of the Pacific rim countries for possible solutions to current economic problems, so too are Australians being urged to look more to our economically successful Asian "neighbours" such as Japan, Taiwan , Singapore and Indonesia.

Business prejudice 'harming' Asian trade

This new realisation of the relationship between cultural forms and economic relations raises significant questions as to the cultural basis of economic power and economic change. Traditionally, Marxists emphasized that social relations are determined by the economic structure. Paradoxically, there appears to be a growing realisation by industrialists and policy makers that the Australian economy is not merely an aggregate of individuals working in a free market guided by the "invisible hand" of economic rationality. The Stock Market crash of October 1987 forced us all to acknowledge that the "culture" of the stock market and many other areas of economic activity is determined in part by many irrational values, attitudes and ways of seeing the world. Notions of "productive culture" and "technological culture" current in comparative analyses of Japanese culture are contrasted with the apparent unwillingness to learn from others which has characterized much of Australian economic endeavour. The "blinkering" effects of monoculturalism are nowhere more obvious than in the low value placed on competency in languages other than English. This cultural arrogance has led to an under-utilization of the rich linguistic and cultural resources which reside within our community as a consequence of immigration. There is a growing awareness of the importance of language competency to trade and economic recovery: particularly in languages such as Arabic, Japanese, the various languages of China and Indonesia. Seven out of ten of Australia's major trading partners are non-English speaking - four of these are in Asia. The prevailing prejudices against "foreign" languages are seen as major obstacles to Australia's economic recovery and the maintenance of future prosperity.

SOCIAL POLICY AND THE REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE

The complex constructions of prejudice described above have major implications when attempts are made to translate them into policies designed to combat prejudice. Many Australian constructions of prejudice are wider than the usual conceptualisations involving issues of racialism and cultural superiority as well as economic and political factors. I have also described in some detail the processes by which prejudice becomes politicised. Against this background it is important to scrutinise public policy to determine the appropriateness (or otherwise) of the constructions of prejudice it embodies and the goals of the policy.

What is immediately obvious is that in such areas as Aboriginal and multicultural policy, the relationship between the policy goals and the reduction of prejudice is poorly articulated. For example, Aboriginal Australians are arguably the minority group most subjected to prejudice and discrimination. Consequently, the delineation of the relationship between policy goals and the attainment of decreased prejudice and discrimination should be apparent. However, this is not the case.

Recent policy initiatives have advocated a goal of Aboriginal self-determination. It is now obvious that the pursuit of this policy goal without the support of the white majority has placed potentially contradictory demands on the state, which is caught between the rhetoric of support of minority group interests in a pluralist society and the reality of political opposition from vested white interest groups. Policies which do not have significant public support may, in fact, prove counter-productive to the attainment of policy objectives.

Similar issues arise in the formulation and direction of multicultural policies, a major direction of which has been the maintenance of ethnic cultures. Potential for conflict arises on the one hand between the traditionalism, conservatism and superficiality which are a consequence of policies whose goals are solely cultural maintenance, and on the other with the need to generate a more equitable, dynamic and adaptive Australian society. Such concerns have been expressed by Kalantzis & Cope in their advocacy of an important distinction between pluralistic multiculturalism with its emphasis on culture as the preserve of "ethnics" - a "celebration of difference" and equitable multiculturalism with its emphasis upon critical cultural analysis and mainstream participation (1987, p.15). Policies promoting equitable multiculturalism should clearly define specific policy objectives and demonstrate their attainment through improved equity and increased social participation of those previously discriminated against.

One conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that the site for intervention to produce changes in the level and forms of prejudice in Australian society is wider than schools. The constructions of prejudice described above permeate many aspects of the Australian social system. It has also been argued that discrimination and oppression find expression and sometimes support in the processes of the law and the legislature as well as in the more prosaic daily activities of social interaction. Consequently, Australian society must combat prejudice and discrimination by generating a range of coherent policies to work through institutions such as the law, the polity and the economy, as well as education.

EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES AND THE REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE

A basic assumption concerning the rationality of prejudice underpins all attempts to combat it; and this is particularly pertinent to educational policies and strategies. The link between education and the reduction of prejudice remains both problematic and uncertain. Further, the origins of constructions of prejudice are external to schools. Consequently, there is a need to clarify those areas which are appropriate to education. In brief, before we can begin to develop appropriate educational policies and strategies we need to be able to determine the links which exist between the reduction of prejudice and pedagogy .

Williams (1986) in her analysis of education and race in educational policy in England parallels the failure of multicultural education strategies with the failure of earlier compenstory policies of the 1960s (1986, pp.143-144). In brief, she argues that both strategies are flawed because

> There is the same idealist understanding of culture, the same simplistic assumptions concerning the nature of school knowledge and the same reliance upon the teacher as mediator between different cultural groups.
>
> (ibid. p.144)

Similar concerns must prevail for any strategies for combatting prejudice which are blind to the ambiguities and complexities of the link between constructions of prejudice and pedagogy.

Prejudice manifests itself at all levels of education from pre-school to university. However, most educational strategies in Australia are focussed in public schools at the primary school level. Some universities and Colleges of Advanced Education have developed far-reaching Affirmative Action policies for their staff. However, little, if anything, is done to tackle the various other forms of prejudice and discrimination. A recent issue of Multicultural Teaching (1987) indicates that issues of multiculturalism are being considered by various higher education institutions in the United Kingdom. The combatting of prejudice needs to be considered as essential to educational strategies at all levels of education.

Prejudice also operates at a number of levels within education organizations. These range from interpersonal relations to the content of curricula, from staffing policies to the prevailing ethos and professional ideologies of teachers, administrators and policy-makers. Banks (1981) and Lynch (1987) strongly advocate "holistic" approaches which attempt to combat prejudice at all levels of the organization.

However, even holistic approaches may be flawed in the same ways as the strategies Williams describes if they fail to articulate adequately the goals of these educational reforms and the relation of schools to them. For example, many multicultural initiatives have as a primary goal the maintenance of ethnic minority cultures. Curricula reflect this, teachers' attitudes are conducive to it, parental support has been solicited and obtained. But the strategy is fatally flawed because of its conceptualisation of prejudice as an inter-cultural, inter-personal issue rather than as a broader socially-constructed and socially-situated phenomenon.

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES AND THE REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE

	TRADITIONAL e.g. Pluralistic Multicultural Education	EMANCIPATORY e.g. Anti-Racist Education Equitable Multicultural Education Holistic Prejudice Reduction
PROBLEM	Attitudes Interpersonal relations Individual prejudice	Social, historical, political economic process of discrimination and oppression
OPERATIONAL CONCEPTS	Socialisation Culture Identity	Power Oppression Marginalisation Social justice
EDUCATIONAL CONCERNS	Intolerance Low achievement Youth unemployment	School resistance Powerlessness Youth unemployment Occupational segmentation Rights
EDUCATIONAL STRATEGIES	Curricula Community languages "Spaghetti and dance"	Inclusiveness Co-operative teaching /learning Social literacy
GOAL	Individual conversion	Collective action
MOTIVATION FOR INTERVENTION	Social unrest Social conflict	Equity Economic development

Adapted from a table presented by Troyna (1987) at a staff seminar at Monash University.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, G.W. (1954). The Nature of Prejudice. Reading M.A.: Addison Wesley.

Bagley, C. & Verma, C.K. (1979). Racial Prejudice, the Individual and Society. Westmead, Farnborough: Saxon House.

Banks, J.A. (1981). Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Banks, J.A. (1985). "Reducing Prejudice in Students: Theory, Research and Strategies" in Moodley, K. (ed.) Race Relations and Multi Cultural Education. Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction. University of British Columbia: Vancouver B.C.

Barker, M. (1981). The New Racism. London: Junction Press.

Clyne, M. (1987). "Language and Racism" in A. Markus and R. Rasmussen (eds.) Prejudice in the Public Arena: Racism (1987). Centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies, Monash University: Clayton.

Grant, C. & Sleeter, Christine E. (1986). After the School Bell Rings. Philadelphia: Falmer.

Kalantzis, Mary and Cope, B. (1986). Pluralism and Equitability: Multicultural Curriculum Strategies for Schools. N.A.C.C.M.E. Commissioned Research Paper No. 3. National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education, Canberra.

Lynch, J. (1987). Prejudice Reduction and the Schools. London: Cassell.

Milner, D. (1975). Children and Race. Harmondsworth. Penguin.

Milner, D. (1983). Children and Race: Ten Years On. London: Ward Lock Educational.

Multicultural Teaching. Special Issue: Continuing Education (1987). Vol.6. No. 1. Winter 1987.

Simkin, K. & Nicholson, J. (1987). "Concepts of Racism in Popular Discourse: The 1984 immigration controversy in letters to the editor" in Prejudice in the Public Arena: Racism (1987). Centre for Migrant and Intercultural Studies. Monash University: Clayton.

Smolicz, J.J. (1971). "Is the Australian School an Assimilationist Agency?" Education News. Vol.13 (4), 4-8.

Troyna, B. (1987). Racial Inequality in the U.K. Paper presented at a Staff Seminar, Monash University, Faculty of Education, Melbourne, August 20.

Troyna, Barry and Williams, Jenny (1986). Racism, Education and the State. London: Croom Helm.

Williams, Jenny (1986). "Education and Race: the racialisation of class inequalities?" British Journal of Sociology of Education. Vol. 7, No. 2, pp.135-154.